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137 313 endemic to New Zealand and Australia. If the tablets are really old, the wood of which they are made must have drifted to the island. Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 293) observed in a canoe "a board six or eight feet long, fourteen inches broad at one end, and eight at the other." He supposes that this large piece of wood had been left there by the Spaniards under Gonzalez or had drifted from some distant island. The driftwood I saw at Anakena and on the south coast was generally in the form of planks from ships.

435 However, wood on Easter Island in ancient times was not abundant; the natives valued it highly, and made their most precious ornaments of wood. Even today the islanders do not despise the least plank. The eagerness to get wood from passing ships is well illustrated by the account of Du Petit-Thouars (65, vol. 2, p. 227):

> All the natives repeated frequently and with vivacity the word *miro* and they showed impatience that we did not understand it: this word is used for the wood with which the Polynesians build their canoes. Wood was the thing they longed for most eagerly and they resorted to various means in order to make themselves understood; they refused to eat or to drink, they seemed to make light of the knives and of the scissors.

192 824 The parts of a tree are *tumu* (trunk or stump), *tahito* (base of the trunk), *manga* (branches), *hua* (buds and flowers), *karu* (seeds), *rau* (leaves).

TORO-MIRO

137 The first travelers to Easter Island were impressed by the total lack of wood large enough to be used in transportation of the huge statues. The members of the expedition led by Gonzalez (90, p. 101) marvel that "not a single tree is to be found capable of furnishing a plank so much as six inches in width." They notice that "there are plenty of shrubs, or brushwood of a sort little more than an estada in height, which offer little obstruction to one passing as they are not dense and have no prickles. Its trees are very similar to mimosas and tamarinds." This tree is the *toro-miro* (*Sophora toromiro*) of which Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 285) gives a nearly identical description: "The wood is of reddish color, and pretty hard and heavy, but very crooked, small and short, not exceeding six or seven feet in height." G. Forster (82, vol. 1, p. 591) saw a hill near Hanga-roa "That was covered with a shrubbery of the mimosa, which grew here to the height of eight or nine feet, and some of whose stems near the root were about the thickness of a man's thigh." Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 285) in 1776 and De Langle (130, vol. 1, p. 82) in 1786 saw only a few small shrubs of *toro-miro* along the south coast.

From the preceding descriptions it is obvious that *toro-miro* were not numerous on the east and southeast coasts. Gonzalez (90, p. 90) reports that on the north coast the soil seemed "to be covered for the most part with green shrub."

Roussel (190, p. 427), one of the earliest missionaries, mentions thickets of *toro-miro* and *hau* on the outer slope of Rano-kao. Palmer (169, p. 375), who visited the island in 1868, says, "At present there are no trees on the island [all that there were having been destroyed in wars]; there are a few shrubs, as the paper mulberry (*miromiro*) and a kind of pourow-tree (the hibiscus)." Palmer (168, p. 276) says: "As for trees, I cannot call the shrubs and bushes I saw by that name. There are none now, though, from the boles and roots found in some places, they must have existed." Three years later, Gana (86, p. 23) saw clumps of *toro-miro*, some of which were 20 inches in diameter. "There is not a single trunk left, but branches are still used in the construction of huts and for the shafts of war spears." In another record (86, p. 7) Gana speaks of "innumerable dry trunks, from

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child's paternal grandmother who threw them into the sea as she pronounced a charm (*ivi-atua*): "Ka oho, kangaro ki hiva!" (May it be lost in a foreign country!) Sometimes the cord was buried under stone, and a charm pronounced over it: "Ka noho hiohio koe i toou kainga!" (May you stay strong in your country!) The land in which the umbilical cord was concealed was tapu; if anyone trod upon it, his legs were covered with white spots (*kino*). Ahu Hanga-varevare, near Tahai, is one of the places where navel cords were hidden. In 1886 Easter Island natives told Thomson that the people who walked over certain rocks near Ana-hoi-hangaroa were afflicted with sore feet. Thomson (215, p. 484) remarks, "We received many solemn warnings in regard to it."

Immediately after birth the child was washed in a large calabash filled with warm water heated with hot stones. According to Knoche (121, p. 660) hot, flat stones were applied to the stomach of the mother after childbirth, to keep the waist without folds. I heard no mention of this custom and the pitiful condition of young women after several childbirths does not testify to the efficiency of this precaution. A woman who has had children is called *heipara*. The same word applies to a plant which produces young shoots.

BIRTH FEAST

A feast was celebrated on the day of the child's birth (*te topanga*). The father's family presented a gift of food to the mother's family. As at the pregnancy feast, the woman ate first or, at her suggestion, her husband started the meal. It was forbidden to cook sweet potatoes in the oven. The oven was tapu and refuse was buried carefully in the ground. Two feasts were given for the first-born child only, whose name was given by the father's brother or sister.

CHILDHOOD

A small child, until he is 6 months old, is a *puepue*; at 6 months he becomes a *poki-tua-huri* (child-who-can-turn). When the child was 6 or 7 months old, his father's brother cut his hair with an obsidian point (*mataa*). At the same time a brother or cousin of his mother gave him a basket containing three or five chickens. This ceremony was called *puoko varu* (hair cutting). When the child began to creep, a maternal uncle gave him a basket with fowls (*kete hakaraka*, basket of crawling). Another present was given to him when he put on his first breechcloth of tapa (*hami-haka-hune*). At 8 or 10 years of age he was tattooed on his legs. At this time his maternal uncle offered him 20 or 30 fowls called *moa o te kona* (fowls for the legs) which became tapu; they could not be eaten by the family but could be traded to a foreigner or transferred to another family, according to the rules of the *koro* (p. 346).

The child was surrounded by many tapus. His head was considered sacred

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contained a very sweet juice which the inhabitants presented to us very frequently, and particularly whenever we asked for something to drink." Only fifty years ago the natives quenched their thirst during their journeys with sugar cane. Even more recently uncultivated sugar cane has been found on several parts of the island. The juice was used as an ointment or as an adhesive upon which pigments were stuck in face painting, and the leaves served as hut coverings. Sugar cane was consumed in great quantities during the feasts. The name for a fragment of sugar cane planted in the soil is *pupura*.

Bananas

All early travelers (186, p. 13; 90, p. 101; 53, vol. 1, p. 288) mention bananas, *maika* (*Musa sapientum*), as products offered by the islanders for trade. They were extensively cultivated, for some Spaniards under Gonzalez (90, p. 123) visited a plantation near Vinapu "which stretched about a quarter of a league in extent, and was about half that distance in breadth." Lisiansky (143, p. 86) noticed that "every house was planted round with bananas and sugar cane."

The trees in these plantations were disposed "in the order called quincunx" (130, vol. 2, p. 259) and "planted in straight lines by the cord" (130, vol. 1, p. 76). According to G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 571), who went through some plantations near the present Hanga-roa, "the bananas were all growing in holes one foot deep, which were supposed to be contrived for collecting rain, and preserving it for a longer time about the plant." A century later, Thomson (215, p. 456) states that "bananas are grown in holes a foot or more deep and with sloping sides, designed to catch and hold the rain water as long as possible about the roots of the plant." Whenever it was possible natural cavities were utilized, in which decayed branches and leaves made a thick layer of fertile humus. The richest banana plantations of today are located on the west coast near the leper house and the ancient village of Ana-o-hoka, between ahu Akapu and Ahu-te-peu. There, in some places the lava crust which covered enormous subterranean cavities has sunk, forming holes about 10 to 15 feet deep. Trees planted there in former days thrived on a rich, damp soil, protected from the sea winds.

At present the natives count ten varieties of bananas, some of which have recently come from Tahiti: *maika-pukapuka*, *maika-korotea*, *maika-hihi*, *maika-pia*, *maika-naho-a*, *maika-pahu* (today extinct), *maika-puru-ino*, *maika-rio*, *maika-perora*, *maika-hiva* (a foreign variety), and *maika-tamoa* (introduced from Samoa). The fruit is still an important staple food of the Easter Islanders. In the past it must have been even more important. The shoots of banana used for planting were called *huri*.

Dried banana leaves (*kaka*) were once used as house coverings and the

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fibers served for tying purposes in the construction of houses. Today they are used in making baskets.

Gourds

White gourds, *hue* (*Lagenaria vulgaris*), were among the plants seen by the Spaniards in the fields of Easter Island (90, p. 123). They did not escape the attention of Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 288), though Forster failed to notice them.

The gourds, which fifty years ago grew wild over the island, were once abundant, but they seem to have disappeared entirely. Some of the graves we opened contained fragments of gourds in rather bad condition.

I assume that there was only one variety of gourd on Easter Island. The names that Knoche (123, p. 118) gives as varieties of calabashes are actually names of something quite different. The word *hipu* means container and applies of course to the gourds which were the only containers used by the natives. *Pakahara* means the shell of anything, but especially of a gourd. *Mautini* are pumpkins which have been introduced, probably from Tahiti where they have the same name.

Gourds were of two kinds. The round ones were used as containers for small things and the elongated ones were for water. Large calabashes in which the natives kept clothes, soaked mulberry bark, or boiled potatoes were called *kaha*.

Paper Mulberry

Paper mulberry trees, *mahute* (*Broussonetia papyrifera*), were raised in the enclosures found near the ancient villages, according to informants. These enclosures, some of which may also have been used for banana trees (fig. 2),

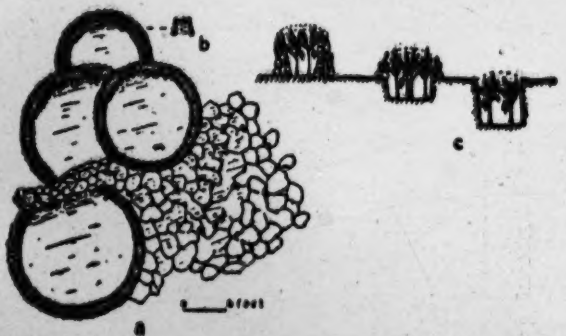

FIGURE 2.—Cultivation enclosures: *a*, enclosure near Vai-tarai-kai-ua; *b*, cross section of wall construction of enclosure shown in *a*; *c*, three types of enclosure in section, scale 1:250 (from Skottsberg, 208, vol. 1, fig. 2).

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WILD PLANTS OF ECONOMIC VALUE

Moki-oone

137 824 In Thomson's version (215, p. 527) of the Hotu-matua legend it is said that after they landed, the king and his followers lived on nuts of a creeping plant (*moki-oone*) found growing along the ground, while waiting for their introduced plants to grow. I was unable to get information about the *moki-oone* which may have either disappeared or become known under another name.

Bulrushes

Bulrushes, *ngaatu* (*Scirpus riparius* var. *paschalis*) are abundant in crater lakes (*rano*). They grow particularly high and large in Rano-kao. Formerly *ngaatu* were of great economic value to the natives who used them for covering their huts and for making sleeping mats, baskets, and fishing floats. They compensated to some extent for the lack of wood on the island.

Nightshade

Nightshade (*Solanum forsteri*) is called *poporo* by the islanders. On some native plantations Forster (82, p. 578) noticed "a species of nightshade [*Solanum nigrum*?], which is made use of at Taheitee and the neighbouring islands as a vulnerary remedy and may, for ought I know, be cultivated here for the same purpose." La Pérouse (130, vol. 1, p. 76) mentions as a food "a small fruit which grows on the rocks at seaside, resembling the bunches of raisins found in the neighbourhood of the tropics in the Atlantic Ocean." He probably alludes to the *poporo*, which he correctly classifies as a *Solanum*. [261] La Pérouse and his naturalist, De Langle, believed nightshade was a cultivated plant, but present islanders deny it; they told me that its berries were eaten by children and adults only in time of famine. The *poporo* grows wild near the settlements, especially in cultivated fields.

Plants Eaten in Time of Famine

261 137 824 278 Several other plants were used as food only in time of famine. The *huataru* (*Chenopodium ambiguum*), of which the vegetative parts were occasionally eaten, is a very common Easter Island plant. Like the old Hawaiians, Easter Islanders were sometimes forced to eat the stems and roots of the beach morning-glory, *tanoa* (*Ipomoea pes-caprae*). The *here-po* mentioned by Cooke (54, p. 777) as edible and described as "ice-plant" was undoubtedly *Tetragonia expansa*. *Kavakava-atua*, a fern, is mentioned among the plants which grew as products of a king's power. The natives used it as a medicine and only occasionally as food. The roots of another fern, *riku*, and those of the *hikikioe* (*Cyperus vegetus*) were eaten when no other food was available. Berries called *pua-nakonako* were also considered edible.

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Ngaoho

Ngaoho (*Cassalpinia bonduc*) is almost extinct. According to Knoche (123, p. 123) it was used as a medicine. Its fibers were resorted to for tying together pieces of wood in canoes or fastening poles of hut frames. Fuentes (208, vol. 2, p. 72) says that the natives listed *ngaoho* as a plant introduced by their ancestors, but both Skottsberg and my informants consider it to be indigenous.

Moss

Para (*Campylopus turficola*) is a green moss which covers the lakes of the craters. It is mentioned by Routledge as a *Sphagnum*. Skottsberg (208, vol. 2, p. 501) says explicitly that he has not found *Sphagnum* in the lake, but in its place a species of *Campylopus* which forms a peat. The peat was gathered, washed and dried to be used in the preservation of water. The moss was also used to stop the chinks of canoes.

Seaweed

Rollin, one of the officers under La Pérouse (130, vol. 2, p. 240), noticed that some of the Easter Islanders were eating "a species of marine *fucus*, which they gather on the shore." The names of the edible seaweed are *miritonu, miritonu mama, auke,* and *ringaringa-pea*. Nowadays only children enjoy eating seaweed.

Fire

Although the use of matches became general on the island after 1880, the ancient method of making fire by rubbing is still remembered. From what I could learn, *hau* wood (*Triumfetta semitriloba*) was the best for making fire, but a harder wood might have been used (215, p. 471). A rubbing stick preserved in the Anthropological Museum, Berkeley (1142), is made of a light material, probably *hau*. It is 185 mm. long and the tapering end is slightly curved upward. The operator, sitting on the floor, held the stick with both hands and, pressing hard, rubbed it along a longitudinal groove in another piece of *hau* or paper mulberry. The hearth was probably held in place with the foot or by an assistant. Friction ignited some fibers placed at the end of the groove as tinder. The whole operation took between five and ten minutes. *Hau* wood is soft and its particles smolder and glow easily. Therefore, it is very unlikely that the natives kept permanent fires, attended by special watchers, in order to spare themselves the trouble of producing fire by the usual method (56).

During our trip round the island the natives who accompanied us always found sufficient fuel for their fires. They gathered small twigs and dry branches or cut branches of the *miro-tahiti* which grows on several points of

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501 together, they can just sit in them so as to paddle ahead." Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 292) gives the length of canoes as 18 or 20 feet; this is clearly an overstatement, corrected by Forster who estimates the size of the canoes at 10 or 12 feet. Kotzebue (127, vol. 7, p. 137) speaks of canoes 5 to 6 feet long and 1 foot wide. Four persons were the limit of their capacity. Generally they were manned by two persons, frequently women.

824 The Easter Island canoes leaked a great deal, forcing the natives to spend much time bailing. A moss called *para* (*Campylopus hydrophilus*) was 823 used for caulking the seams. This *para* grows in great abundance on the surface of the crater lake of Rano-kao. Black earth (*varekahi*) which dried in the air was also used for the same purpose.

177 When the firm of Brander was exploiting the island, several Tahitians
501 who accompanied Salmon to Easter Island introduced Tahitian canoes, which were still used in 1911. Knoche (123, p. 189) mentions four of them, each provided with an outrigger. The tradition of canoes, given by my informants, referred partially to these boats of Tahitian type; however, several details are probably genuine.

I was told that the best wood for canoe making was the *hau* (*Triumfetta semitriloba*). Planks from this tree were sometimes about 20 cm. broad and fairly long. Their edges were beveled or rabbetted for close fitting. The pieces of wood or "patches" were sewed together by cords passing through holes pierced through the margins, and the holes were caulked with moss. The hull was painted like a checkerboard, white and dark. Canoes decorated thus were called *papa hakatara*. The outrigger described by my informant is the typically Tahitian one with indirect attachment.

The general Easter Island name for any craft is *vaka*. *Vaka poepoe* is either a canoe or a whaleboat. The keel is *tino*. The bow, *oho o te vaka*; the stern, *tua o te vaka*; the gunwale, *taitui*. The booms are the *kiato*; the float, *ama* (*hamae*, Roussel; *amatiatia*, Brown, 27, p. 285); the thwarts, *pepe*. The projecting stern and bow pieces are *tuero*, which on the king's craft were decorated with wreaths of feathers.

501 Though Roggeveen says that the natives had many canoes, all the travelers who visited the island after him stressed the small number of canoes seen. In 1770 the Spaniards (90, p. 121) found only two, and they believed that these were all that the islanders had. Cook reports only three or four canoes. La Pérouse observed no more than three canoes at the same place and foresaw that in the near future, through want of wood, there would be no canoes left on the island. Kotzebue reports only two canoes in 1816. Beechey (15, vol. 1, p. 40) says that "three canoes were noticed hauled up on the shore" in 1825. In 1838, Admiral du Petit-Thouars (65, vol. 2, p. 227) passed along La Pérouse Bay and received the visits of natives who came in five canoes. In each canoe were two men and a woman who "was crouching or lying on her breast so as not to be an obstacle to the movement of the craft or perhaps to give it more stability." He estimates at 12 the total number of canoes which he saw along the north and the west coasts.

James Hamilton, master of the *Prudence* who fought with the Easter

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knob is bulkier than those of other islands and lacks the beaked shape which characterizes both the Marquesan and Mangarevan paddles. On one face of Tuamotuan paddles is a median flange which prolongs the handle and stops near the distal end, also provided with a knob. The other surface has a ridge continuous to the tip. Some Hawaiian paddles (109, p. 17) have a small rib at the tip. Cook Islands paddles are characterized by a raised flange.

CORDAGE

Cords (*hau*) were made of *hau* (*Triumfetta semitriloba*) or paper mulberry bast. The bark was stripped off the tree, the outer surface scraped away, and the bast allowed to dry. The fibers were rolled on the bare thigh into strands which were twisted together. The number of plies in ropes varied according to the size and strength required. Now only fine cords are made, principally for trade. Geiseler (87, p. 49) says that bulrush bast was used for making ropes, but he is certainly mistaken, for bulrush fibers are not strong enough for cords and natives never mentioned the bulrush among the cordage material. A microscopic analysis by Dr. Roland W. Brown of the seine net (*kupenga maito*) in the National Museum in Washington showed that the twine was made of paper mulberry fibers. Thomson (215, p. 460) speaks of the *hau* bark and of a native hemp. No hemp grows on the island and it is impossible to know to what plant Thomson alludes. Braided human hair (*hiri*) was very popular on Easter Island for cords. Even in Tahiti the Easter Islanders made such braids (56, p. 321).

MATS

Mats were termed *moenga* (thing-to-sleep-on); thus the name defines the principal use. Mats were also worn by women instead of tapa cloaks. Dead people were wrapped in mats, and many mat fragments were found in the tombs. Rolled into big bundles, mats formed swimming floats (*pora*). Not a single mat is to be had nowadays, but natives remember the general principle of technique, which is illustrated in two reed mats collected by Geiseler and stored in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin (pl. 2, *C*).

The reeds (*Scirpus riparius*) come from the lakes of Rano-aroi and Rano-kao. They were split open with the thumb nail and allowed to dry for a few days before the soft substance was scraped out with the nails. The strips were then sewn together with doubled lengths of *hau* string spaced at intervals along the length of the strips. For technique see figure 20.

The mat shown in plate 2, *C*, is 159 cm. long by 107 cm. wide. It has 16 weft lines which are spaced about 10 cm. apart or nearly 4 inches. Another mat in the Berlin Museum (VI.4971) is 195 cm. by 187 cm. An informant writes that the ends of the strips were fastened by two strings that were knotted around each strip, but this technique does not appear in the mat figured in plate 2, *C*.

BASKETS

Food that natives traded to the Cook expedition was presented in large mat bags of very neat workmanship (83, vol. 1, p. 590). A woman depicted

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Sham Battles

The sham battle was one of the favorite entertainments of children. Divided into two sides, they threw at each other spears tipped by pieces of gourd shell in the shape of obsidian points (*taua pahera*). Legend states that children frequently discovered and substituted obsidian points for their harmless spear points (p. 376). Sham battles (*tuna*) in which either adults or children threw stones was another form of training for wars.

At feast gatherings, young men displayed their athletic skill in running, spear throwing, and other feats of dexterity (215, p. 468).

Throwing Game

Knoche (123, p. 202), describes a throwing game which was probably introduced from Tahiti or Mangareva. I never saw the game and the islanders never mentioned it to me.

A small groove 150 mm. long is traced on level ground. Across the groove they put a little stick 50 mm. long. The players have thin sticks 550 mm. long that they introduce under the small one to throw it as far as possible. The winner is the man who throws the piece of wood farthest.

Top Spinning

Spinning tops (*makoi*) were popular toys. They varied in type according to materials used. The most common top was a capsule of the *makoi* (probably *Thespesia populnea*), pierced through the middle by a round pin with two sharp, fire-hardened points. *Makoi-oone* were made of a clay found in craters. Children mixed it with water and sugar cane juice and left it to bake in the sun. A clay top is preserved in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna (22838). It is a hard, red clay ball, 28 mm. in diameter with a wooden handle 135 mm. long inserted through it. This object is listed in the catalog as a tattooing hammer, but its form makes such a use very unlikely.

Stone tops are said to have been large and were thrown without the use of a string into a stone basin, where they kept spinning for a long time. While the tops were spinning, children used to sing the following song:

Kanini te makoi nau opata.	Spin the top [made of *makoi* capsules] from the cliff.
Ka tuu te makoi miro rakerake;	The wooden top does not stand up well;
Kanini koe te makoi oone o te Rano-kao.	Spin the top made of the clay of the Rano-kao.

Kite Flying

Kites, called *manu hakarere* (flying birds), were made of tapa cloth and the head of a bird was painted on each of them. They were flown by children.

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by the use of other substantives to indicate the nature of a particular tablet (*kohau o te ranga, kohau o te pure*).

As already mentioned (p. 137), the chants associated with the tablets were recited by learned men or bards called *tangata rongorongo*. Reading of the tablets or chanting from them was taught in special huts, comparable to the schools of learning (*whare wananga*) of the Maori. At Te Hare-titaha in Anakena I was shown stone curbs which were supposed to be remains of the most famous school for *rongorongo* men. There were similar houses in other districts. The atmosphere and the methods in these houses of learning were described by some informants on the authority of old men now dead. Unfortunately these traditions are colored by details of the missionary school system:

> The school houses were open sheds with thatched roofs. In the morning the children waited outside the house until they were told by the teacher to enter. To the teacher's salute of *maira* they answered *kokoea*. Each student knelt before a flat stone (*maea rango*), which served as a writing desk. The assistant instructor (*te pahu*) counted the children to find out whether any were missing. The teacher started the lesson by reciting a prayer from a tablet. Then the children were taught to make string figures, each of which was associated with a chant that they must memorize. There were chants for love, for the dead, for saving people from dying, for addressing noblemen, and for the multiplication of birds and fish.
>
> Banana leaves were used as copy books and on them the pupils practiced the engraving of signs with a sharp bone from the frigate bird (*makohe*). Te Haha said the copy books were sheaths from the banana trunk (194, p. 214).
>
> According to Routledge, Te Haha was taught by King Nga-ara, but Charli Teao, the nephew of Te Haha, told me that his uncle had been trained by Taki, another uncle of Charli. Taki had been taught by Ngangiriva. Te Haha described King Nga-ara as "holding a tablet in one hand and swaying from side to side as he recited. Besides giving instruction, he inspected the candidates prepared by other professors, who were generally their own sons; he looked at their *kohau* and made them read, on which he either passed them, clapping if they did well, or turned them back. Their sponsors were made personally responsible. If the pupils acquitted themselves creditably, presents of *kohau* were made to the teachers; if the youth failed, the tablets of the instructor were taken away" (194, p. 245).

Besides the annual gathering and chanting by *rongorongo* men at Orongo during the feast of the bird-man, these learned bards met once a year at Anakena to chant for the king. People came from all over the island to hear them "read" from the tablets. This public "reading" must be considered as a general contest between *rongorongo* men and a test of the ability of each. Visitors arrived with *huhu* (sticks with feathers) to which turmeric was tied, as a courtesy to the king. The food to be consumed during the feast was supplied by the king, who was aided by people of neighboring districts. Te Haha described to Routledge (194, pp. 245-246) one such gathering, which he attended in his youth:

> Both King Nga-ara and his son, Kaimako . . . sat on seats made of tablets, and each had a tablet in his hand; they wore feather hats, as did all the professors. The

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given by Jaussen in 1871 to the Russian ship *Vitiaz*, is 62 cm. long and 14 cm. wide and has 11 rows of signs on each face; the other, purchased by N. N. Miklukho-Maklay during the same cruise, is 42 cm. long and 9 cm. wide and has 9 rows of signs on each face (179, p. 425). In Bishop Museum there are two tablets with the signs partly destroyed and a fragment of a tablet (445) collected by Lt. Symonds of the U.S.S. *Mohican*. One tablet is in the collection of Stephen Chauvet, Paris. The tablet called Keiti belonged to the collection of Bishop Tepano Jaussen. It was given to the library of the University of Louvain which burned in 1914. Fortunately photographs and a rubbing of this tablet were preserved and published by Lavachery (138). Another tablet was given by French missionaries to the Chilean ship *O'Higgins* but it never reached France, its destination. The Musée de l'homme in Paris has casts of most of the tablets in existence.

Only one of the sticks covered with tablet signs, mentioned by Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 71), has been preserved. It was given to officers of the *O'Higgins* in 1870 by Dutroux-Bornier, who thought that it was a weapon belonging to a king (176, p. 676). The stick is 1.25 meters long and 6 cm. thick. It is round and tapers toward one end. There are 13 rows of figures with an average of 115 signs each and an additional row at the thick end. A pectoral (*rei-miro*) in the British Museum has a row of signs carved on it (57) and an image of a bird-man in the American Museum is decorated with a few tablet figures. Thomson (215, p. 535) claims to have brought back a "calabash covered with hieroglyphics similar to those found on the incised tablets," but this specimen disappeared from the Easter Island collection in the National Museum, Washington.

A certain importance has been attributed to the wood of the tablets as a result of the theory that Easter Island tablets may have been imported into the island by the first immigrants. The analyses show that the following woods were used for the tablets: Lauraceae, Myrtaceae, *Fraxinus excelsior*, *Thespesia populnea*, *Podocarpus latifolia*, *Pyrus malus* (131, p. 70). The beautiful tablet called the "Oar", whose authenticity has never been questioned, was engraved on a European oar of *Fraxinus excelsior*. Thus it must date from the end of the eighteenth century or the first half of the nineteenth century A. D. This particular tablet, one of the largest and purest in style, was collected by the French missionaries about 1867 or 1869, at a time when natives paid little attention to tablets. The wooden tablets could not have been kept for centuries in rain-drenched, thatched huts, or in caves. How then could these tablets have been saved during thousands of years of migration and war and come to us in the form of a modern European oar?

The signs are incised on both faces of a tablet. Between each row of signs is a low ridge, produced by slightly sunken channels or flutes along which the signs have been engraved. On the tablet called Aruku-kurenga, of which the Bishop Museum has a cast, these channels are 1.5 cm. wide. The channels were produced by longitudinally adzing the piece of wood. The carver must have held the plank in a vertical position with the left hand and formed the plane surface by striking regular blows with his adz. The signs are outlined by angular grooves of varying depth. The skill displayed by the artist is masterly; all the signs are incised with a freedom, a keen appreciation of proportion, and a vigor that only an expert artist could accomplish. There

9: Forster T-5 (1774) 1777
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

1774. MARCH. pillar which appeared above ground. We did not obſerve that the natives paid any worſhip to theſe pillars, yet they ſeemed to hold them in ſome kind of veneration, as they ſometimes expreſſed a diſlike when we walked over the paved area or pedeſtals, or examined the ſtones of which it conſiſted.

A few of the natives accompanied us farther on into the country, where we had ſeen ſome buſhes at a diſtance, which we hoped would afford us ſomething new. Our road was intolerably rugged, over heaps of volcanic ſtones, which rolled away under our feet, and againſt which we continually hurt ourſelves. The natives, who were accuſtomed to this deſolate ground, ſkipped nimbly from ſtone to ſtone without the leaſt difficulty. In our way we ſaw ſeveral black rats running about, which it ſeems are common to every iſland in the South Sea. Being arrived at the ſhrubbery which we had in view, we found it was nothing but a ſmall plantation of the paper mulberry, of which here, as well as at Taheitee, they make their cloth. Its ſtems were from two to four feet high, and planted in rows, among very large rocks, where the rains had waſhed a little ſoil together. In the neighbourhood of theſe we ſaw ſome buſhes of the *bibiſcus populneus*, Linn. which is common alſo in the Society Iſles, where it is one of the numerous plants made uſe of to dye yellow; and likewiſe a *mimoſa*, which is the only ſhrub that affords the natives ſticks for their

9: Forster T-5 (1774) 1777
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

their clubs and pattoo-pattoos, and wood ſufficient to patch up a canoe. 1774. March.

We found the face of the country more barren and ruinous the farther we advanced. The ſmall number of inhabitants, who met us at the landing-place, ſeemed to have been the bulk of the nation, ſince we met no other people on our walk; and yet for theſe few we did not ſee above ten or twelve huts, though the view commanded a great part of the iſland. One of the ſightlieſt of theſe was ſituated on a little hillock, about half a mile from the ſea, which we aſcended. Its conſtruction was ſuch as evinced the poverty and wretched condition of its owners. The foundation conſiſted of ſtones about a foot long, laid level with the ſurface in two curve lines, converging at the extremities. Theſe lines were about ſix feet aſunder in the middle, but not above one foot at the ends. In every ſtone of this foundation we obſerved one or two holes, in each of which a ſtake was inſerted. The middlemoſt ſtakes were ſix feet high, but the others gradually diminiſhed to two feet. On the top the ſtakes all converged, and were tied by ſtrings to tranſverſe ſticks, by which they were kept together. A kind of thatch, made of ſmall ſticks, and covered with a neat mat-work of ſugar-cane leaves, leaned on each row of ſtakes, forming a very ſharp ridge or angle at the top, and reſting firmly on the ground at the bottom. A hole was left on one ſide, about eighteen inches or two

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

of injuries inflicted by her husband in a moment of blind rage over some grievance, fancied or real. In this connection it may be mentioned that subsequently this same woman went to nurse Pakomeo, previously mentioned, who was ill at the time. Upon the recovery, so well pleased were they with each other that she abandoned her cruel spouse, remained with Pakomeo, was living with him as his wife at the time of our visit, and the arrangement seemed mutually satisfactory.

The custom of tattooing has fallen off within the last few years and is now rarely or never practiced. It is only among the adults, more especially among the older people, that good examples may be found. Unlike the inhabitants of other islands, where a standard pattern is adhered to, the Rapa Nuiis seem to have affected no uniform fashion nor limited themselves to any particular style. The custom obtained alike among the male and female members of the community. Generally speaking, the ornamentation was as follows: A narrow band around the upper part of the forehead, at the edge of the roots of the hair, with little balls, each joined to the band by a stem, pendant from it, the whole simulating a coronet; a line around the outer free edge, the helix, and lobe of the ear; a line around the edge of the lips; the neck in its entire circumference, either in straight lines, vertical or oblique, or with the lines wavy; three radiating exclamation marks beneath each ear, common among women at the present day; a girdle about the waist, in broad bands, with an attempt at lace work, or fringe, from which rise heavy lines, at the ends of which, toward the axillæ, are fanciful figures resembling faces, with a larger face in the middle of the back; fine lines down the thighs anteriorly; heavy, undulating bands posteriorly, running over the buttocks toward the waist; wavy or straight perpendicular lines, terminating in points, around the legs, and elsewhere.

The material used in tattooing is made of the soot obtained by burning a plant with a leaf similar to our Indian corn, and called by the natives *ti*, moistened with the expressed juice of a berry similar to our pokeberry, and called *poporo*. Pieces of bone, finished like a fine-toothed comb, or fish bones made fast to a short stick, are used to prick the skin by holding in contact with the surface and striking it a brisk blow.

Before the advent of the missionaries the Rapa Nuiis possessed scant wardrobes. They made a coarse cloth woven of the fibers of the inner bark of the *mahuti*, Chinese paper mulberry, or of the *burau*, another fibrous tree, which they wore about the shoulders and loins. This cloth was also used, in the manner of a shield, as a protection in battle against the enemy's spears, which latter was, with the exception of the war club, their principal weapon, the head being made of obsidian, numbers of which may be found on the island. They also made siapu, or tapa, as do the natives of other islands, by beating out the bark and wearing the same as a breechcloth. With the coming of the missionaries civilized clothing was introduced and is now generally worn, comprising coat, shirt and trousers, among the men, and a loose gown of cotton mate-